

The American Observer

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

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Neutrality Becomes Crucial U. S. Issue

Revision of Present Legislation to Be Considered by Special Session of Congress

REPEAL URGED ON EMBARGO

Heated Debate Expected as a Result of Sharp Division of Opinion Throughout Nation

The Congress of the United States will soon be in session again; in extra session, called to consider the amendment of our neutrality laws. The one big neutrality question before Congress and the country is this: Shall the present law prohibiting the sale of arms, munitions, and implements of war to nations at war be repealed or shall it be retained? President Roosevelt asks for repeal. A strong Senate group, including William E. Borah of Idaho, Hiram Johnson of California, Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan, Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri, Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota, and others, oppose the demand. A sharp debate on an issue of great importance is coming.

Change in Policy

The law was enacted in 1937. It worked a decided change in American foreign policy. We had no such law during the World War. The rule then was that American companies which produced guns, explosives, or other war materials might sell these goods to anyone who could buy them. It was understood, of course, that if an American sold war supplies to one of the countries at war, the enemy of that country was at liberty to capture them if it could. The right of citizens of a neutral nation to sell munitions to a nation at war (called a "belligerent") was not an absolute right. Neutrals sold war supplies to belligerents only if they could "get away with it."

That was not merely the policy under which America operated its commerce. It was the general policy of neutral nations. It still is the usual custom. Under the rules of international law, as it has developed during the last few centuries, neutral nations have a right to sell to belligerent nations anything they please, including war supplies. But if the attempt is made to sell war supplies, and if the enemy of the country to which the sale is attempted captures or destroys the cargoes of war supplies, or captures a neutral ship carrying such supplies, the neutral nation has no right to protest, and its citizens lose the goods they tried to sell.

When, therefore, Congress changed our policy and declared that no longer should Americans sell munitions to belligerents, it did so not because international law required the change, but because it decided voluntarily to place an additional restriction upon American commerce in time of war among other nations. Why did it impose this new restriction?

An explanation for the action of Congress may be found in the fact that the sale of war supplies to nations at war has caused America a great deal of trouble. It caused trouble during the Napoleonic wars; during the period preceding the War of 1812. But we need not go back that far. It caused trouble during the World War. It caused friction between the United States and Germany and played a big part in bringing us into the war.

Our producers were willing to sell to any nation, including Germany. But the Ger-

(Concluded on page 7)



MIDNIGHT OIL

HUTTON IN PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

Early Stages of War In Europe Discussed

Strategy of Opposing Forces on Land, Sea, Air, and Diplomatic Fronts Studied

GERMANY WINS VICTORIES

But Allied Powers Hope to Offset Initial Gains by Ability to Wear Germany Down

As the great European war entered its second week, people the world over were pondering its probable outcome and consequences. Would it become the "second World War," as many people were already calling it? Would England and France be able to apply sufficiently strong pressure upon Germany, on sea, land, and from the air, quickly enough to relieve Poland from the terrible onslaught of Germany's armed machine? Would it be a long war? By what methods did the English and French and Poles hope to win the life-and-death struggle? These are but a few of the hundreds of questions which are now on the lips of people everywhere.

Unfortunately, no definite answers can be given to any of them. The fog of censorship which has settled down over all Europe has made an accurate appraisal of the military situation next to impossible. The line of attack of the contesting belligerents has not yet been clearly defined. The very nature of the conflict is unpredictable and is subject to complete change by some unforeseeable development on either the military or the diplomatic front. There are, however, certain outstanding facts which must be borne in mind in attempting to analyze the war situation abroad.

The Military Front

On the military front, the initial successes have gone to Germany. Pushing into Poland from three directions, the German thrust has subdued at least a third of the country. The German military machine has succeeded in taking not only Danzig and the Corridor and all Polish territory which was German before the World War, but has, at this writing, reached the very gates of Warsaw. Hitler has proclaimed the re-establishment of Germany's prewar frontiers. The territory which the Germans have seized includes most of the highly industrialized sections of Poland. Thus the Polish position has been greatly weakened by being cut off from the centers of manufacturing and munitions making.

It had been expected that Germany would encounter relatively little difficulty in making rapid successes against Poland. In addition to the great military superiority of the Germans, there is the natural geographical weakness of Poland which has made her more vulnerable to attack. There are no natural barriers to strengthen the Poles. With the exception of the Carpathian Mountains in the south, there is little protection in the form of rivers and mountains. For the most part, Poland is a flat, rolling country not easy to defend. Despite the fact that all these handicaps had been taken into account before the outbreak of hostilities on September 1, neutral observers have been surprised at the speed and efficiency with which the German machine has carried out the invasion.

As the German forces push ever eastward into Poland, the big question is whether the Polish army will be able, either at Warsaw or at some point beyond, to take a sufficiently strong stand to hold the invaders in check, or at least to slow down the

(Continued on page 3)

Can America Stay Out?

That question is on every tongue—has been since the great war in Europe broke out. In fact, it was a question much discussed during the months which preceded the war. From time to time the Institute of Public Opinion has conducted polls in which people were asked whether America would probably be drawn into a war if one should develop in Europe. And a majority of Americans have expressed the belief that America could not stay out. Not that they wanted this country to get into war. In other polls the people have declared overwhelmingly that we should not enter a European war. But fear has been expressed lest we might be drawn in whether we wished to be or not. A large proportion of our people seem to feel that we are in the grip of powerful forces, beyond our control, which sweep us along in a current which we cannot successfully resist.

Such a spirit of fatalism is unworthy of Americans. There is no reason why it should hold us in its mysterious power. We are, after all, a free people. Unlike some other peoples, we enjoy democratic privileges. We have a right to decide what our national policies shall be, and we should exercise that right. We need not go to war unless we choose to do so—unless we decide that it is in the American national interest that we should. Irritations will occur, of course. Property of Americans will in some cases be destroyed. Americans in the fighting zone may be killed. There will be interferences with our commerce. But whether or not these incidents are causes for war is something which we should decide. We should also decide whether America has a vital interest in seeing that Germany does not win the war. We decided in 1917 that we had an interest in seeing Germany defeated and we entered the war. We may or may not make a similar decision again.

But whatever our decision on all these points may be, let us remember that it will be *our decision*. We need not and shall not enter the war unless we decide to do so. We can stay out if we wish. We are not victims of blind forces beyond our control. Let each citizen, therefore, make up his mind what American policy should be, and let him then use his influence to see that such a policy is adopted. Have faith in democracy. Quit asking, "Can America stay out?" She can if we see fit to keep her out. The decision must be our own and each individual should do his part in the making of that decision. One can do his part, of course, only by reading, studying, thinking, discussing, the great issues which are involved. Effort of that kind becomes, in these days, a patriotic duty.

Censorship Adds to Problem of Gathering the News from Europe

FEW people familiar with the sketchy manner in which news is presented in Europe can fail to be impressed by the large volume of war news which is being distributed in the United States by radio and through the press. This volume of news strikes a note far different from that of July 1914, when one New York editor reprimanded his central European representative for his extravagance in cabling a 138-word dispatch concerning the momentous Austrian ultimatum to Serbia—the document that started the war.

Now some 120,000 words daily are cabled from Europe by the three large American press associations—the Associated Press (AP), which employs 100 European correspondents; the International News Service (INS), employing 125; and the United Press (UP), which employs 500. This substantial representation abroad is increased by the special European staffs of such papers as the New York Times and Herald-Tribune, and the Chicago Daily News.

Equipped with gas masks, food reserves, cots, black-out curtains, and lanterns, the chief American press offices in Europe are today working on a 24-hour basis. From all points of Europe a constant stream of news flows into the press headquarters in London and Paris. It comes by telephone from "leg-men" who scout around in hotel lobbies, government offices, and public

York, and of Edward R. Murrow, Thomas Grandin, and William L. Shirer in London, Paris, and Berlin. NBC operates a larger but more scattered system, which relies to a large extent upon the Associated Press. The Mutual system is the smallest and least costly of the three, and owes much of its success to the expert direction of Raymond Gram Swing, its level-headed news chief in New York City.

Just before a roundup of comment from the capitals of Europe goes on the air for any one of these three systems, the editor in New York talks with his European representatives to see that the foreign stations are coming in well, and to ensure that there will not be too much duplication. While the roundup—as it is called—is in progress, other editors are gathered around short-wave radios in New York, taking notes on other foreign broadcasts, reading the latest press bulletins, and comparing them with the comments from London, Paris, Berlin, and Warsaw. Since the commentators in these capitals are being heard only through the cooperation of the government-censored radio stations, they cannot voice sentiments or divulge news which does not have the approval of the government censors. This makes it necessary for the New York editor to listen "between the lines," to weigh all the European commentators did and did not say, and then to present his own comments.



YOU HEARD THEIR VOICES

A few of the radio commentators on this and the other side of the Atlantic who helped to interpret events abroad for the American listener. Left to right: H. V. Kaltenborn, who flew to Europe and back to the United States to broadcast the crisis for CBS; Dorothy Thompson, who commented nightly for NBC; William Shirer, CBS Berlin representative; Raymond Gram Swing, MBS analyst; Edward R. Murrow, CBS London representative.

meeting places for news. It comes by telegraph from offices in other parts of the continent. It ticks off on the teletype machines of the big foreign news agencies—from Reuters (England), Havas (France), Dienst Aus Deutschland (Germany), Tass (Russia), and so on. All this news is gathered in, sorted out, duplications and unimportant matters eliminated and filed away, while the core of the news is translated or rewritten by "desk-men" and passed on to the chief European editors for final trimming before being dispatched by cable or radio-telephone to New York.

The orderly flow of this news across the Atlantic has been severely disrupted since the Germans invaded Poland, however. Rigid censorships have been clamped tightly down. Trans-Atlantic telephone service has been virtually stopped, except for official and banking calls. All outgoing cables from France and England are censored, whether news dispatches or not. The only cable to Germany was cut a few hours after war was declared. Newspaper dispatches from England have been delayed from two to six hours. Since the warring governments do not permit correspondents to visit the war zones (save on an occasional carefully conducted tour), actual news of the war has been almost impossible to obtain, and correspondents are forced to rely upon official *communiqués*, brief statements of doubtful value.

The most spectacular form of news distribution in the first few weeks of the current war has been that of the three large radio chains, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and the Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS), all of which now maintain special European staffs for gathering and broadcasting spot news from abroad—a system initiated by CBS in 1933.

Columbia's organization is small and compact—consisting of Paul White, Elmer Davis, and H. V. Kaltenborn in New

York, and of Edward R. Murrow, Thomas Grandin, and William L. Shirer in London, Paris, and Berlin. NBC operates a larger but more scattered system, which relies to a large extent upon the Associated Press. The Mutual system is the smallest and least costly of the three, and owes much of its success to the expert direction of Raymond Gram Swing, its level-headed news chief in New York City.

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What the Magazines Say

The New Republic for September 13 publishes a letter from a German army officer whose name is, of course, withheld. This unnamed officer speaks quite frankly of certain weaknesses within the German army. Ordinarily letters of this kind are not to be taken seriously. Usually they are not genuine. We may be sure, however, that the staff of The New Republic gave the letter close inspection and believed it to represent the opinions of a responsible German officer.

This letter says that there is quite a little enthusiasm for the war among young Nazi



—FOREIGN POLICY ASS'N

officers, but that the older officers, the ones who were in the army before Hitler's days, are not as enthusiastic for the Hitler regime as they were for the old empire under the Kaiser. They will obey orders and will be loyal at first, but if Hitler is not successful at the outset, if it appears after a while that he cannot consistently win victories, then there is likely to be great dissatisfaction, not only among the older officers but throughout



CBS PHOTO

"THE NEWS OF EUROPE AS IT OCCURS"

During the tense days immediately before and after the outbreak of war, American broadcasting companies went on a 24-hour schedule to keep their listeners informed on up-to-the-minute developments. This is the studio and newsroom of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

- Straight Thinking -

II. Sweeping Statements

ROBERT H. THOULESS, in his excellent book, "How To Think Straight" (New York: Simon & Schuster, \$2), gives many illustrations of crooked thinking. One of them mentioned in an early chapter is illustrated by the statement, "Red-haired people are bad tempered." If one who makes that statement means that "Some red-haired people are bad tempered," he is speaking correctly, but he has not said very much, for while it is true that some red-haired people are bad tempered, it is equally true that some people who are not red-haired are bad tempered. When anyone makes the statement that red-haired people are bad tempered, he probably means that they have a tendency to be; that is, that more red-haired people per thousand are bad tempered than would be the case with people whose hair is black or brown.

This is a very simple illustration and it may seem unnecessary or even foolish to give so much space to it. The fact is, however, that statements of a similar nature are frequently made—statements which contain the same kind of error.

Here are a few illustrations which are quite common: "Germans are cruel and ruthless." "The English are snobbish." "The Scotch are stingy." "WPA workers are lazy." "Employers are heartless." "Strikers care nothing for property rights."

It is true, of course, that some Germans are cruel and ruthless, but all of them are not. And it would be an error for a person to say anything which would imply that all Germans have characteristics which

only a part of them have. No one would say, "All Germans are cruel," but it is a common thing for one to leave out the word "all" and then put the statement in such a way as to leave the impression that Germans in general are meant to be included. The same comment could be made, of course, about the statements that the English are snobbish and that the Scotch are stingy. Few people have observed enough Germans or Englishmen or Scotsmen so that they can tell with any accuracy what proportion of them have any particular characteristic. Unless one does have very definite and detailed information, he should be careful about making sweeping statements—statements which may leave false impressions in the minds of other people.

Whenever one feels an impulse to make such a statement as, "WPA workers are lazy," he should stop and ask himself if he could rightfully place the word "all" before his statement so as to make it read, "All WPA workers are lazy." Or, on the other hand, would he, in order to speak correctly, be obliged to say, "Some WPA workers are lazy." If he must truthfully say that some is a better word than all, then he should try to find out whether or not he could make the statement more precise. What proportion of them are lazy? Is laziness more common among them than among other classes of the population?

Of course, all of us make general statements such as those which have been indicated here many times without thinking much about them. Frequently little or no harm is done by such comments. We should remember, however, that people sometimes use general statements for the purpose of deceiving. They play up a characteristic which certain individuals in a general group or class possess, and without exactly saying so leave the impression that all the people in that general group or class possess those characteristics. This is a form of thinking which is always crooked and sometimes dishonest.

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Vocabulary Quiz

(See page 7, column 4, for answers)

For each word in the left-hand column there is one with approximately the same meaning in the right-hand column. Pair off the synonymous adjectives.

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. diffident | a. disparaging |
| 2. mercurial | b. generous |
| 3. rabid | c. hasty |
| 4. intransigent | d. changeable |
| 5. derogatory | e. inflexible |
| 6. querulous | f. indolent |
| 7. egotistic | g. irascible |
| 8. magnanimous | h. bashful |
| 9. cursory | i. fanatical |
| 10. slothful | j. self-centered |

Early Stages of War Discussed

(Continued from page 1)

advance. The German strategy apparently is quickly to subdue Poland, probably in a few weeks, and then to offer terms of peace to the Allied forces. Having achieved his goal on the eastern front, Hitler could confront England and France with a new situation and try to convince them that it was useless to continue the fight. Up to now there has been no reason to believe, however, that such a procedure would prove acceptable to the English and French, who have insisted that the issue goes deeper than Poland; that it is a question of destroying the Hitler regime in Germany.

War in the West

Turning now to Germany's western frontier, we find an entirely different situation. Here Germany has been occupying a purely defensive position. She has kept enough troops in the west to hold her line, preventing any marked military successes by the Allies while concentrating the greater part of her military might in Poland. The strategy of England and France, unable to come directly to the aid of Poland, is to ease pressure upon their eastern ally by



WIDE WORLD

FOR FRANCE

General Gamelin, who played an important part in winning the Battle of the Marne for France during the World War, heads the Allied land forces in the drive against Germany.

launching a vigorous attack upon the German western frontier.

The Allied forces have a gigantic job on their hands trying to compel Germany to transfer large numbers of her troops from the east to the west. Unlike the eastern front, where there are relatively few fortifications, the western front, the dividing line between France and Germany, is the most highly fortified region the world has ever known. The French began constructing their great network of fortifications shortly after the World War. Not only does the Maginot Line, the French wall, run the length of Germany's and France's common 200-mile frontier, but it stretches in the north to the sea, behind Belgium, and in the south about halfway along the French-Swiss frontier.

On the German side of the frontier runs the West Wall, sometimes called the Siegfried Line or the Limes Line, extending from the frontier of The Netherlands to Switzerland. This series of fortifications was constructed more hastily than the Maginot Line, the Germans not having begun it until 1935. Last year, they worked feverishly to complete the West Wall, with half a million men working on it 20 hours a day.

Fortification Systems

It would be difficult, indeed, to overestimate the importance of these great systems of fortifications. Both systems extend as far as 40 or 50 miles in depth, and both contain every device known to man to withstand attack from the enemy, such as traps for invading tanks, anti-aircraft defenses. At points, they are buried several hundred feet in the ground, resembling in complexity and efficiency gigantic battle-ships. The following description, by a

writer in the New York Times, gives an idea of the nature of the two systems of fortifications:

The Maginot Line is not, strictly speaking, a line, nor is the West Wall a wall. Both consist of vast underground fortress barracks of steel and concrete connected by subterranean tunnels and protected by an outer network of machine gun and artillery emplacements and observation and anti-aircraft gun positions and filled with the most ingenious collection of observing, range-finding, signalling, antitank and antigas devices that experts could invent.

In both defense systems each barrack-fort has its own electric kitchen, washrooms, water reservoirs, electric generators, and storage rooms as well as scores of miles of underground narrow-gauge electric railroads over which men, food, and ammunition can be hauled. Both defense lines are protected by cunning camouflage.

If the Allied forces are to render effective aid to Poland, they must somehow be able to launch an offensive against the German West Wall sufficiently effective to draw German forces from the eastern to the western front. But they cannot plunge headlong into the wall, lest the results prove too costly in lives and munitions. Four or five men would have to be used for the offensive to every one defending the West Wall. For that reason, the French and British general command has been moving cautiously, feeling its way and hoping to locate weak spots in the West Wall if there are any.

Immediately upon the outbreak of war, the French and British launched their attack upon the West Wall, not in a spectacular manner but cautiously and efficiently. Their greatest weight has been thrown against that part of the West Wall which extends from Luxembourg to the point where the Rhine marks the boundary between Germany and France. They have made certain gains and taken a small amount of German territory. It was reported that Germany has been pouring reinforcements into the West Wall. But it is certain that they have not come directly against the main defenses of the German fortifications. The big question at the moment is, therefore, will the Allied forces be able to break through the West Wall and thus deal effective blows at Germany?

These are the main aspects of the second



WIDE WORLD

FOR BRITAIN

General Viscount Gort has been British chief of staff for only two years, but he also had World War experience on the staff of General Haig.

European war, as it is being fought on land. They by no means tell the entire story. Warfare on land is being supplemented by activities in the air and on the seven seas. While nothing decisive has yet taken place in either of these fields, the crucial battles of the war may be fought in the air or on the sea.

One of the really surprising aspects of the war thus far has been the relative absence of fighting in the air. It is true that the Germans have used their planes in Poland, both in conjunction with the land attacks and in destroying military centers. It is also true that the British have made aerial attacks upon the German naval base at Wilhelmshaven and upon the Kiel Canal, which runs through Germany from the Baltic to the North Sea. Nevertheless, neither Germany nor the Allies have as yet engaged in extensive warfare in the air.



THE GAINS MADE BY GERMANY AFTER A WEEK OF WAR ON THE EASTERN FRONT. (FOR A GENERAL MAP OF EUROPE TURN TO PAGE 8). N.Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE

There has been no wide-scale bombing of cities and factories by either of the belligerents.

The war at sea has been more vigorously fought. Here the Allies are in a stronger position, for they have a combined naval tonnage which outweighs the German nearly 10 to one. The Germans were immediately blockaded by the British navy. Access to Germany from either the Baltic or the North Sea was shut off by the British fleet. The British were determined to use their naval supremacy to the fullest advantage by preventing munitions, foodstuffs, and raw materials of all kinds from reaching Germany. In this way, they hoped to use a powerful economic weapon against their enemy.

Against the Anglo-French naval strategy, Germany has been resorting to submarine warfare as she did during the World War. German submarines lurked in the waters surrounding England and France, and several British ships were torpedoed during the first two weeks of the war. Due to improvements which have been made in combating submarine activities since the last war, it is not expected that the German campaign will approach the effectiveness of 1914-1918.

This is the principal outline of the war during its initial stages. There can be no doubt that the early advantages have been won by the Germans. Germany's geographical position has greatly aided her, for until now, at least, she has been able to concentrate on Poland without considerable effort in the west. Such a situation might change overnight, however, with an effective Anglo-British offensive in the west.

A Difficult Problem

For the moment, this is about the only hope of the Allies. They cannot readily bring direct assistance to Poland. They cannot land troops and supplies in Poland because all the avenues of communication are closed. The Germans are in control



EUROPEAN

FOR GERMANY

General von Brauchitsch, army commander who has been directing the German campaign against Poland.

of the Baltic, with their submarines and their floating mines of explosives. It would be difficult for the British to force the Baltic, except at a terrific cost. Moreover, it is doubtful whether such a course would effectively help Poland, for Germany is now in control of the Polish coast on the Baltic and it would be next to impossible to land troops and supplies under such circumstances.

It has been suggested that the Allies might bring aid to Poland by sending troops and supplies from England and France through the Mediterranean, the Dardanelles to the Black Sea, and thence by rail through Rumania. The trouble with such a plan, if it has been seriously entertained, is that Rumania has declared its neutrality and the plan could not be carried out without violating that neutrality. Moreover, Germany is in a position to cut off the line of communication between Rumania and Poland almost immediately.

Italy and Russia

Nor is it possible for the Allies to march troops through Italy and into Austria by way of the Brenner Pass. Italy, too, has announced her neutrality and in doing so has shut off another avenue of approach to Germany. There remains, at present, only the line of attack which has been undertaken; that is, an offensive against the West Wall, naval warfare, and possible crippling blows by the air fleets of England and France.

The position of Italy is of the utmost importance. Although little definite information is available, it is fairly certain that a bitter struggle is being waged on the diplomatic front, with Italy occupying a pivotal position. The British and French ambassadors in Rome have had numerous conferences with Foreign Minister Ciano and they are certain to have discussed serious matters of state. The diplomatic efforts of the Allies seem to be directed toward weaning Italy away from Germany and drawing her into their camp, as they did during the World War. For Italian support, they would have to pay a price, such as granting her French Tunisia, the port of Jibuti in Africa, and a measure of control of the Suez Canal. Whether Italy can be swayed will be apparent in the weeks to come. Meanwhile, she is being subjected to strong pressure both from Berlin and from London and Paris.

Italy's position is the more important because it determines to a large extent the position of most of the Balkan countries. At the moment, these countries—Rumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Greece—are neutral. But they might be induced to join the Allies if Italy took the lead. Such a lineup would alter the entire balance at once, and for that reason every word or move of Italy is being closely watched throughout Europe.

Equally important is the position of Russia. The effectiveness of the British blockade in depriving Germany of much-

(Concluded on page 7, column 4)



FOLLOWING THE NEWS

The eagerness with which Americans read the headlines from Europe is a sign of the realization that this country cannot help but be affected by the war. President Roosevelt's proclamation of a limited "national emergency" is another sign.

DOMESTIC

Limited Emergency

There were expressions of alarm when, on September 8, President Roosevelt declared that there existed in the United States a "national emergency." That is the sort of proclamation one expects when a nation is at war or in grave danger of becoming involved. People usually associate national emergency with national danger and disorder.

In this case, however, the situation is not so grave as that. Our laws provide that the President may call for increases in the army, navy, and marine corps without an act of Congress authorizing the increase and without



NEUTRALITY

Secretary of State Hull watches as the Great Seal of the United States is applied to the neutrality proclamation.

having secured appropriation from Congress to pay the expenses only "in case of national emergency." The President wished to increase the personnel of our armed forces by about 100,000 men, and did not want to wait until he had called Congress into session and had secured the authority to do so. Hence he declared a limited national emergency so that he might take this action. The President plans to increase the personnel of the navy from 120,000 to 145,000 by voluntary enlistment. He plans to raise the personnel of the army from 227,000 to 280,000.

The President explained that the increase of our armed forces was intended merely to fill certain gaps and to provide for adequate garrisons for the Canal Zone, Puerto Rico, and other strategic outposts.

Another power which the President will exercise in the emergency is that of increasing the number of agents in the Federal Bureau of Investigation in order that the neutrality laws may be enforced, that the smuggling of forbidden goods from the United States to belligerent nations may be prevented, and in order that unlawful propaganda and sabotage, or the destroying of property in the United States by representatives of foreign nations may be prevented.

President Roosevelt was careful to warn against false interpretations of his proclamation of a limited emergency. He made it clear that there is no occasion for excitement. Most of the newspapers of the country, whether friendly to the Roosevelt administration or not, support this action of the President. The

Chicago Tribune, a Republican paper, said:

Emergency is a big word whose connotations are anything but reassuring. Yet if we turn our attention to the executive orders he has issued under the authority bestowed upon him as a result of his proclamation, his use of it in this instance can be regarded more as a legal formality than a cause for excitement. Under present conditions one would expect him, in the normal discharge of his duties, to build up the personnel of the army, navy, and marine corps, to strengthen the government's agencies dealing with spies and subversive activities, and of course to make available the appropriation reserved for aiding Americans caught in the zone of hostilities.

Food Prices

No sooner had war broken out in Europe than the price of food and other necessities went up sharply in the United States. The chief reason for this was the fear on the part of many people that the nations at war would buy such immense quantities of goods in this country that the supply would be exhausted or cut down and prices would rise. Housewives, remembering their experiences during the World War when prices skyrocketed, began to buy food and other things in unusual quantities. In some cases the goods were hoarded for future use. The very fact that the purchases were increased caused the price to go up. In some cases, too, retailers, thinking that the trend of prices would be upward, hastened the process by marking up the goods which they had on hand.

Government officials have assured the public that there is no prospect of a scarcity of food. There is plenty on hand. In the case of many articles there is a large surplus. People are warned not to hoard food.

The government is doing nothing about the price rise now except to give publicity to the fact that higher costs are not justified. If it should appear that manufacturers or merchants are forming agreements to put prices up, they may later be prosecuted under the antitrust laws, which declare it unlawful for individuals or companies to act together in planning to fix prices.

Southern Renaissance

The South, with its precarious agricultural life, and its low standard of living, has been described by President Roosevelt as "the nation's No. 1 economic problem." Last month Governor Hugh L. White of Mississippi reported on a possible solution to this problem. The formula is called BAWI, which means Balance Agriculture With Industry, and is effected largely by means of chemurgy, or the science of adapting agricultural products and former waste matter to new uses. The BAWI program calls for an industry in every town, either manufacturing by-products of the locality's agricultural product, or making use of the town's natural advantages in relation to raw materials. For example, 2,000 tires are manufactured daily in the town of Natchez, which gets rubber by barge from New Orleans, cotton in the immediate vicinity, and carbon black from nearby gas fields.

Laurel, which boasts of being Mississippi's "100 per cent chemurgic city," has the country's only plant for making starch out of sweet potatoes. An adjacent mill uses the starch in making clothing. Many other by-

The Week at Home

What the People of the World Are

products are also made here. As a result of this activity, the state's industrial output last year exceeded in value its agricultural output for the first time in history.

Mississippi is not the only southern state to have increased its industry. The value of the yearly industrial output of the southern states as a whole was up 36 per cent in 1937 over 1935, and the increase has, if anything, been accelerated since then. The outstanding industry developed recently is the processing of pine, which yields many important commodities, including newsprint.

School Enrollments, 1939

Ten years ago there were 781,281 pupils in the grade schools of the city of New York. This month it was estimated that the number would be 646,450. Something like this is happening all over the country. Families are smaller now than they were a few years ago, and there are fewer children to go to school. This means that after a while population in the country will cease to grow.

While there is a falling off in the number of pupils enrolled in the grade schools, there is a gain in the number of junior and senior high school students—not a large gain, but nevertheless an increase. It may be expected, however, that in a few years when the children now in the grade schools have reached high school age, enrollment in the high schools will fall off. This is almost certain to happen, for the grade school pupils of today will be high school students three or four years from now and year by year smaller numbers will reach the high school age.

The "America"

When competing with foreign shipping interests, the United States has often taken a back seat. Our merchant marine was unable to cope with the flood of exports leaving American shores, and passenger vessels were sadly lacking. Cargoes and passengers alike used foreign ships. To remedy this deficiency, the United States Maritime Commission began a shipbuilding program some months ago. Their initial effort was climaxed by the launching of the *America*.

At least a dozen foreign ships are longer than the new 723-foot liner, but, according to the commission, the *America* is the safest ship in the world. Constructed at a cost of 17 million dollars, it weighs over 34,000 tons. Eight of the 11 decks will have accommodations for a total of 1,219 passengers. Fire-resisting materials were used in the construction. Most of the lifeboats have motors, and all have two-way radio sets. The ship is so built that several of her compartments can

be flooded, yet the vessel will remain afloat.

During the next 10 years the government will build 500 commercial vessels at the rate of 50 each year. The annual cost is to be about \$125,000,000. The ships can be converted into navy vessels during wartime.



Government aid comes into the picture because foreign shipyards can build ships cheaper than American yards. Consequently, although the *America* cost 17 million dollars, it is being sold to the United States Lines for about \$10,500,000. This represents the building price in a foreign country. The United States thus hopes to put American shipping on a level with our foreign competitors.

Boom in Stocks

When war broke out in 1914, the stock market reacted sharply and violently. Foreign investors combined with American investors in selling their holdings. The result was a big drop in prices. This year, officials of the government and the Stock Exchange were busy over a Labor Day holiday devising methods to check a repetition of the 1914 situation. As it turned out, however, these plans were not needed. Almost from the start, the market reacted to an influx of buyers rather than sellers. By the end of the day, 5,932,150 shares had changed hands—the heaviest trading in almost two years. Led by steels and munitions, prices had risen from \$5 to more than \$20 a share. Bond trading was the heaviest in history with a volume of over 59 million dollars. While later trading has not been so heavy as the opening day, an upward tendency has been noted.



COME AND GET 'EM

While the young men of Europe line the battle fronts, the young men of this country can still look forward to enjoyment of that favored fall pastime—football.

Home and Abroad

What We Are Doing, Saying, and Thinking

The New York *Herald-Tribune*, commenting on the rise, was not altogether optimistic. It said:

A bull (rising) market in stocks based on the expectation of a revival of peacetime industry is highly to be desired. There is less reason to

which includes big and little walkouts in all parts of the country, compares favorably with last year's average of 231 strikes a month, and the monthly average of 395 strikes in 1937.

FOREIGN

Empire Roll Call

One of the most striking developments of the new conflict in Europe has been the manner in which outlying parts of the British Empire have rallied behind the leadership of England. When the British government declared war, it spoke for the United Kingdom—that is to say, Great Britain (England, Scotland, and Wales) plus Northern Ireland. The smaller colonies and territories belonging to Britain, such as Bermuda and the British West Indies, were automatically included. But this declaration did not include the self-governing dominions, and apparently it did not include India. Although the dominions are bound to Britain by ties of commerce and the desire for mutual protection, the only legal bond holding them together is that of the British crown.

Yet in quick succession the British dominions followed Britain into the war. Australia and New Zealand followed immediately, the Union of South Africa a few days later, and then Canada—all within a week of the British declaration. In the meantime, declarations of support have flowed into London from Indian princes, Moslem leaders, desert sheiks, and tribal rulers from central Africa to Malaya. How many of the Empire's 450,000,000 people, and how much of its vast resources will eventually be brought to bear against Germany, however, remains uncertain. The role and position of India are not clear. Eire (Ireland) has declared her neutrality.

rejoice at the fact that the market is going up because speculators happen to be willing to gamble on such debatable questions as (1) that the present war will be a long one, (2) that the neutrality act will be modified so as to permit of huge war financing and purchases by the democratic nations in the market, and (3) that corporations will again be permitted to keep the lion's share of such profits as they make.

Where It Goes

When you go into a retail store and pay your money for an article of food or clothing, where does the money actually go? Who gets it? The farmer or manufacturer? Or does a considerable part of the money go to middlemen along the way? And do the contributions to the middlemen represent a waste or are their services necessary?

The Twentieth Century Fund had these questions in mind in making a study of the cost of distributing a number of standard articles. The research carried on by this organization shows that the consumer who buys a package of cigarettes pays an average price of 14 cents. It costs the manufacturers 3.86 cents to make these cigarettes. They charged the jobbers 11 cents a package, paid 6 cents as federal tax, and kept a profit of 1.14 cents. The jobber and the retailer each kept 1½ cents for services.

A study was also made of gasoline. Motorists of New York City paid 17½ cents a gallon. The cost of this gasoline to the producers was 5½ cents a gallon. One cent was spent for shipment to New York, there was a tax of 5 cents, the jobber kept 2 cents, and the retailers 4 cents. There is some question here as to whether the retailers, that is, the filling station operators, kept too much—4 cents—but it is said that there are so many filling stations that they must make a margin of 4 cents in order to have any profits.

A third article studied was men's hats. A hat that cost the manufacturer \$1.70 sold at retail for \$3.50.

There will no doubt be a difference of opinion in the interpretation of these figures. The New York *Times* argues that they do not indicate either waste or undue profits to middlemen. It points to the fact that retailers lose much because of bad accounts, damage to goods, returns of goods, and style changes which reduce the value of certain kinds of products before they can be disposed of by sale.

Fewer Strikes

During the first seven months of this year there was an average of 192 strikes a month, according to a recent statement by the National Labor Relations Board. This figure,



SMOKE OVER POLAND'S ANCIENT CAPITAL

But this is the smoke of industry, not of war. Warsaw is one of the most important industrial centers of Poland, and loss of the city to the Germans would be a severe blow to the Polish cause.

The answer is that they fear for their families. For these jobs the Germans ordinarily take men who have wives or children at home, and they give them to understand that if they do not do their work satisfactorily, punishment will be inflicted upon their relatives. This threat ordinarily holds workmen in line.

"Athenia" Report

The sinking of the British liner *Athenia*, Canada-bound with 1,400 Canadian and American passengers on board at dusk on September 3, has given rise to a bitter guilt controversy in Europe. The British accuse Germany of having opened a ruthless submarine warfare similar to that of 1917. The Germans charge the British admiralty with having ordered the attack to arouse American sympathy.

American naval attaches who investigated the sinking were handicapped because the *Athenia* was by then at the bottom of the sea, and because the stories of the survivors did not agree. That the *Athenia* was torpedoed by a submarine at 7:40 p.m. on September 3,

mystery of its sinking to a watery grave. If the tragedy proves anything, it is the difficulty of getting at the actual facts in such cases.

Submarine Warfare

How serious is the threat of submarines against British and French shipping? There was a time during the World War when it looked as though the British might be starved out on account of the activities of the U-boats. In one month 600,000 tons of British shipping had been sent to the bottom, and if that had continued Britain would have been ruined. Fears were expressed during the first week of the war that the submarines might be effective again, for the liner *Athenia* was sunk during the first day of hostilities, and each day thereafter during the week from one to three or four ships were lost. By the end of the week 65,000 tons had been destroyed on the sea.

There is reason to believe, however, that the submarine menace may be checked again this time as it was during the World War. It was found then that if the merchant vessels were accompanied by submarine destroyers, the U-boats could do little damage. Shipping could be effectively protected. The Allies also developed bombs which would explode under water and destroy the submarines. Before the war was over, the submarines were doing little damage.

It will take a little while to get the anti-submarine machinery into effective operation. Apparently the British were not prepared to convoy their merchantmen at the start. If World War experience is repeated, however, the damage done by the submarines will not be so great as might have been thought during the first week of the war.

Panama Conference

Many new problems—both political and economic—face the republics of Latin America as a result of the war in Europe. The disruption of German commerce on the high seas, for instance, has spelled the collapse of the German barter system through which many South American states found needed markets for their raw materials in return for German manufactured goods. As another example, Argentina has already objected to some features of the British blockade of Germany. Thus Latin-American governments are now wondering how to replace their lost German markets, and are considering what policies should be adopted to preserve and protect their neutrality.

In the hope that some plan for cushioning the effect of the European war on Latin-American trade and neutrality can be worked out, the government of Panama has invited the governments of all American republics to send representatives to a special conference in Panama City on September 21. Most governments (including the United States) have accepted the invitation. Whatever the political effects of the conference may be, it is widely believed that the United States will come to replace—in part anyway—the favorable trade position so recently occupied by Germany.



FOR THE WAR ON THE SEA

This is the latest type of motor-torpedo boat now in use in the British Royal Navy. The small, speedy craft carries two torpedo tubes, one on each side of the boat. The torpedoes are launched simultaneously when the boat has been maneuvered at full speed into the required position. Because of their speed, these boats are difficult to hit, and their torpedoes are practically certain to strike their targets.

Thus, a week after the declaration of war, George VI finds himself in a strange position. As king of Great Britain, Northern Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, he is a monarch at war with Germany. As emperor of India his position is not clear. As king of Eire, however, he is the head of a state which, being neutral, is not hostile to Germany.

Czech Workers in Reich

It is reported that large numbers of Czechs are being compelled to work in German factories. Why do they do this? It is sometimes asked. They no doubt hate the Germans who so recently deprived them of national independence. Why do they not get revenge by doing poor work or by destroying tools or otherwise damaging German property?

seemed certain. That the ship was abandoned about two hours later and left to sink with the fragments of its torpedo, which might have given some clue to the identity of its attacker, plus some 125 people who either had been killed outright when the torpedo exploded, or were trapped in the third-class dining room when the explosion demolished the stairway to the upper decks, also seemed certain.

But the nationality of the submarine remained unknown. Whether the craft had, as some survivors claimed, actually fired a shell at the sinking ship, remained likewise unknown. Whether a second explosion heard by many survivors came from a projectile fired at the *Athenia*, or from the ship's boilers blowing up was not certain. Most of the survivors who got away in boats were picked up by rescue ships, but the *Athenia* carried the



THE THREE PARTITIONS OF POLAND AND THE POLAND THAT WAS RESTORED AFTER THE WORLD WAR

COURTESY NEW YORK TIMES

THE history of Poland, from its beginnings to its latest tragedy, is marked by sharp contrasts between great national power and grandeur on the one hand, and internal disintegration and external weakness on the other. During more than 10 centuries of existence, Poland has known the extremes of power among the nations of Europe and complete subjugation to foreign nations; of resurrection at the close of the World War and the present threat of renewed extermination. Many

times in the past, as at present, it has been a battleground among the powers of Europe.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

In the tenth century, Poland was established as a strong kingdom, stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Carpathian Mountains, and from the Elbe to the Bug River, thus including a large part of present-day Germany and regions in eastern Europe. But its position of dominance in Europe was not long to endure. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it was seriously weakened by civil wars, by external invasions. It became split into a number of principalities. In the fourteenth century, under the rule of Casimir the Great, Poland regained much of her former unity and again became a power among the nations of Europe.

The Golden Era

In 1386, Poland joined hand with Lithuania. This political union was brought about as a result of the common danger

confronting the two countries—danger from the invasion by the Order of Teutonic Knights, who at the time constituted a powerful military power. The Teutonic Knights resembled in many ways the present-day Nazis. They developed a powerful military force and sought to expand German influence throughout neighboring regions. In a fierce battle at Tannenberg, in East Prussia, the Poles and Lithuanians dealt a crushing blow to the Knights. This battle, fought in 1410, opened the way for the consolidation of Poland's power, and before the end of the century, Poland had incorporated nearly all of the Knights' possessions, including Danzig.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Poland reached the zenith of her power in Europe. She extended her territory to the Danube River and the Black Sea, successfully warding off attacks from the Germans, Russians, and even the Turks. Polish culture reached a level unequalled by other powers. For a time, Polish kings ruled over Bohemia and Hungary, and entertained dreams of unifying all central Europe in a single nation.

There were, however, elements of weakness in the Poland of this period; otherwise, she would not have suffered the three partitions of the eighteenth century. One of the principal sources of weakness was the failure of the Polish kings to establish

themselves securely and to effect a strong national unity throughout the country. Feudalism reigned supreme in the land and the king had little more than nominal authority. The landed gentry ruled the country; in fact, named the king. But the gentry itself was unable to rule strongly or intelligently, creating a situation little short of political anarchy. As important as anything else, then as now, was Poland's lack of natural frontiers.

Period of Decline

Under these circumstances, it is little wonder that the country fell prey to incursions by neighboring powers. Poland was weakened by a number of imperialistic wars, lost territory to her stronger neighbors, and was finally ripe for the three partitions which came during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Three nations coveted Polish territory, each for its own reasons. Eastward lay Russia, which sought to expand westward and southward; an ambition which was thwarted by the existence of Poland. On the west, lay the state of Prussia, which sought to increase its power at the expense of Poland. To the south was Austria, ruled by the Habsburgs, whose interests might have been served by the existence of an independent Poland, but who was willing enough to share in the spoils.

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

The Ups and Downs of Polish History

The first partition took place in 1772. Poland lost about a third of its territory and population, lost control of the Vistula and access to the sea. The second partition took place in 1793, again engineered by Russia and Prussia. This partition took about half of Poland's remaining territory and population, brought the Prussian frontier within a few miles of Warsaw, turned Danzig and the present Corridor over to Prussia, and gave the entire eastern part of the country to Russia. Two years later, the final partition took place, wiping Poland completely off the map of Europe and marking the beginning of the so-called period of captivity. Despite a number of revolutionary attempts to restore Poland as a nation, there was no resurrection until a new Poland was constituted at the conclusion of the World War.

Do You Keep Up With the News?

(For answers to the following questions, turn to page 7, column 4)

1. Complete Sir Edward Grey's famous remark, made in 1914 and much quoted recently: "The lamps are going out all over Europe and . . ."
2. The President made two neutrality proclamations because (a) he didn't like his first one, (b) one had to be in English and one in German, (c) one was required by international law and one by act of Congress, (d) one applied to Germany and the other to the Allies.
3. Is the population of Poland greater or less than 30,000,000?
4. The citizens of San Antonio, Texas, are trying to recall Mayor Maury Maverick because (a) he arrested Earl Browder, (b) he would not permit a Communist rally, (c) he did permit a Communist rally, (d) he is a Fascist.
5. The nation to which Joseph Patrick Kennedy is United States ambassador recently sent whom to be its ambassador in Washington?
6. In the first half of this year the country averaged 192 strikes a month. Is this an increase over last year's monthly average?
7. What member of the present British cabinet held the same post in 1914?
8. The German fortifications which oppose the French Maginot Line are known by all but which of these names (a) the Siegfried Line, (b) the Wilhelmstrasse, (c) the West Wall, (d) the Limes Line.
9. You cannot win the Bendix or Thompson Trophies unless you can make a what go pretty fast?
10. The state of Mississippi is sponsoring



Who won the Davis cup?

Vocational Outlook -- Aviation

THERE are two branches of the aviation field which offer employment opportunities to young men. One is piloting and the other is mechanical work. Despite the rapid growth of the aviation industry during recent years, employment opportunities are not so great as has generally been supposed. In the field of commercial aviation, there are far more licensed pilots than there are available positions. At present, there are more than 17,000 licensed pilots and some 21,000 student pilots, a total of more than 38,000 pilots or would-be pilots. And yet there are but 1,347 pilots employed by the combined air lines of the nation.

It must be realized that probably half of the licensed pilots have authorization to operate only private planes and that a considerable number may operate commercial planes only in strictly defined areas. Nevertheless, there are about six times as many licensed pilots as there are available jobs. Unless there is a vast expansion of commercial aviation in the near future, this field is likely to remain overcrowded.

Attention in piloting has been greatly increased recently by the action of Congress in providing funds for training courses in aviation. This fall, some 10,000 students in colleges and universities will be given such courses, as a part of the general program of strengthening the nation's air forces. An experimental program, carried on in 13 colleges during the second half of last year with funds provided by the

National Youth Administration, proved successful and was largely responsible for the present program, under the direction of the Civil Aeronautics Authority. While this is regarded primarily as a defense measure, it is certain to increase interest in aviation and may lead to a growth in private flying.

Those who are successful in obtaining positions as commercial pilots receive good salaries. The average monthly salary of a chief pilot is \$550, and that of a co-pilot \$200. The United States Bureau of Air Commerce limits the number of hours which transport pilots may fly. The transport pilot, moreover, must attend a school

approved by the bureau before a license is granted. A large number of prospective pilots receive their training in the flying schools maintained by the United States army, navy, and marine corps. In private schools, tuition ranges from about \$200 to \$350.

Turning to the mechanical end of aviation, we find that there are two types of mechanics: those who repair the fabric, metal covering, and metal parts of airplanes, and those who service and repair airplane engines. The average wage of such mechanics is \$33 a week, although chief mechanics receive nearly \$50 a week. Practically all airplane mechanics licensed by the Bureau of Air Commerce have positions, but the field is not a large one, there being fewer than 10,000 mechanics.

The young man who is considering one of the branches of aviation as a career should be duly forewarned of the facts which we have mentioned. A considerable amount of special training is required for either the piloting or the mechanical end of aviation, and one cannot be certain of obtaining employment upon the completion of the training. A far safer course would be for a young man to go ahead with his training, preparing himself to hold down a job if it presents itself, at the same time going ahead with preparation for some other type of work of a similar nature. In this way, he will be assuring himself against uncertainties of the future.



AIRPORT

W. W.

Neutrality Act Widely Debated

(Concluded from page 1)

mans could not buy munitions here, because Great Britain and France, then as now, had control of the seas. They had blockaded Germany so that, as a matter of fact, only they could buy goods in America. Our munitions and implements of war went exclusively to them. American-made arms were used to fight the Germans.

World War Experience

As the war went on and the Germans began to suffer increasingly for lack of war materials, their resentment against America rose. They began to use all their power to stop the shipment of munitions from America. They used submarines to sink ships carrying munitions or even suspected of doing so. American ships were sunk and Americans traveling upon British ships were killed.

There were other unsatisfactory results of the munitions trade. Our own industry was, to a degree, disorganized. Even before we entered the war we were selling munitions to the amount of well over a billion dollars a year to the British and French. Factories making arms, explosives, and other war implements enjoyed a mushroom growth. Yet these industries were necessarily riding for a fall. The boom was temporary. It had to collapse when the war was over, and the breakdown of such large industries unsettled business of all kinds.

So, in 1937, Congress said, in effect: "The experiences of the World War must not be repeated. If there is another war in Europe we shall not insist upon our right to sell munitions. We can more easily maintain our neutrality if we do not supply the guns and explosives with which one nation tries to destroy another. We shall forbid our munition makers to sell their products to any nation at war. In that way we can stay out of the war more easily and we shall prevent temporary and unhealthy stimulation of our armament industry. We shall thus help to insure peace and at the same time keep business more stable."

Quarrels With Belligerents

Congress went even farther than that. It was determined that we should not be dragged into another war through quarrels with belligerents about our rights to trade. The embargo on the sale of munitions was a step in the right direction, thought the congressmen, but other things needed to be done. For example, there were problems about selling certain other kinds of goods in addition to munitions. A nation at war needs steel, scrap iron, copper, rubber, gasoline, cotton, food, almost as much as it needs munitions. It cannot carry on



KEEPING BOTH EYES ON THE ROAD

THOMAS IN DETROIT NEWS

war if it runs out of these things. If we try to ship such goods to belligerents, it was said, our ships may be captured by the other side, for there is a rule of international law which gives a belligerent the right to capture "contraband of war" which is neutral is shipping to the belligerent's enemy. And in wartime "contraband of war," or goods necessary to the carrying on of a war, is often interpreted to cover a very wide variety of goods. In the early years of the World War we were constantly quarreling with both Great Britain and Germany about our trade in such goods.

So Congress enacted the so-called "cash-and-carry" law. It provided that if other nations were at war, and if the President thought that our sale of any particular kind of goods was causing trouble, he should have the power to declare that such goods should be sold only if the nation buying them paid cash and carried them away in its own ships. Then if the ships were destroyed by an enemy we should not be involved. This law, however, was to expire May 1, 1939, if it were not renewed. It did expire on that date and is not now in force.

Congress enacted two other important provisions. It declared that American citizens should not lend money to a country which was at war, and it declared further that no American citizen should travel on

a vessel owned by a belligerent. These two acts are still in force. It is reasonable to think that they will prevent many disputes such as we had with the belligerents during the World War. There is no movement on foot at present to repeal them. The big issue in Congress is confined to the question of whether the arms embargo should be repealed.

We have seen that very good reasons can be advanced in favor of the embargo. In spite of these arguments, President Roosevelt is asking for repeal, and a very strong body of public opinion supports him. There must, then, be reasonable arguments for repeal. What are they? The more effective of them are:

Arguments for Repeal

1. The arms embargo is not necessary as a means of keeping us out of trouble. The cash-and-carry plan can be applied to armaments. The law will then provide that American firms may sell munitions to a nation which is at war provided that nation pays cash for the armaments and carries them from our ports in its own vessels. If this is done there will be no question of the sinking of American ships carrying munitions because none of our ships will carry them. There will be no question of Americans lending money to foreigners to buy munitions and thus acquiring an interest in the success of the nation in the war so that it may repay those loans, for the goods will be sold for cash. No problem will arise about Americans being killed on vessels carrying munitions, for Americans are forbidden to travel on the vessels of belligerents.

2. If we refuse to sell munitions, guns, explosives, and airplanes to any nation at war, we shall really be hurting Great Britain and France and helping Germany. Germany cannot buy them anyhow because her ships have been swept from the seas. Great Britain and France can buy them if we will sell. They have a right to expect that we will sell them anything which their sea power permits them to buy in this country. That is a privilege which preponderant power on the seas has always given to a nation. It is unfair, then, for us to change the rules which have always prevailed in such a way as to hurt one side and help the other.

3. We shall be more likely to keep out of war if we follow the general practice under international law and sell munitions to Great Britain and France than if we refuse to sell them. If they can buy implements of war, and particularly airplanes, from us, they are more likely to win the war than if they cannot buy these things. And if they can win the war without our help we are not likely to enter it. If, how-

ever, we refuse to sell airplanes and other munitions to them, they may be unable to defeat Germany. And if it should appear that they are losing the war, and that Germany is likely to emerge victorious, there will be a strong demand in the United States that America get into the war to prevent Nazi victory. There will be such a demand that we shall probably enter the war, just as we did in 1917.

It is argued, therefore, by those favoring the repeal of the embargo that, since the great majority of Americans sympathize with the European democracies and fear the effects of a Nazi victory, the United States would be very foolish to refuse to sell airplanes and other needed things to the two nations which have a chance to prevent German victory.

Both sides to the dispute over the repeal of the embargo are anxious to keep America out of the war. They are divided in opinion as to the best means of accomplishing that result.

What do the people of the country think about this question? A recent poll conducted by the Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup poll) indicated that opinion was quite evenly divided, 50 per cent voting in favor of repeal and 50 per cent against it. This straw vote was taken before the war began in Europe. We can only guess the extent to which opinion may have changed as a result of the breaking out of war. Most political observers in Washington are saying that when Congress meets, a majority will declare in favor of repeal. It seems likely, however, that a debate of historic importance on American foreign policy will be heard in the halls of Congress. The outcome is by no means certain.

THE WAR IN EUROPE

(Concluded from page 3)

needed supplies has been greatly reduced by the ability of the Germans to obtain these materials from Russia. This may not be a decisive matter, however, unless Russia should go further and extend military help to Germany.

It is generally recognized that the Allies' chances of success lie not in their ability to deal crushing military blows to Germany immediately, but rather in the possibility of defeating her over a long period of time. The British and French have far greater economic resources and could certainly outlast Germany in a long war. Many of the vital materials of war, notably oil and other raw materials, are lacking in Germany, and without abundant supplies of them she cannot engage in a long war. Realizing this, England and France are using every weapon at their command to weaken Germany economically, and at the same time are employing every instrument of propaganda to split the German people from their government. The hope of the Allies lies, therefore, in their ability ultimately to wear Germany down. They realize that wars are not won by initial victories on the battlefield, but by greater strength on a dozen different fronts.

Answer Keys

Do You Keep Up With the News?

(1) "... we shall not see them lit again in our lifetime." (2) (c); (3) greater; (4) (c); (5) the Marquess of Lothian; (6) no; (7) Winston Churchill; (8) (b); (9) an airplane; (10) (c); (11) false; (12) (a); (13) Australia; (14) (d).

Vocabulary Quiz

diffident, bashful
mercurial, changeable
rabid, fanatical
intransigent, inflexible
derogatory, disparaging
querulous, irascible
egotistic, self-centered
magnanimous, generous
cursor, hasty
slothful, indolent

PRONUNCIATIONS: Maginot (ma-zhee-noe), Gamelin (ga-muh-lan), Limes (lee'mez'), Siegfried (seek'freet'), Wilhelmshaven (veel'helms-hah-fen), Ciano (chee-ah'noe), Jibuti (jee-boo'tee), Tunisia (too-nish'ia), Havas (ah-vahs'), Reuters (roy'ters), Dienst Aus Deutschland (deenst'ows' doyt'shlahnd), *communiqué* (koe-mue-nee-kay'), Bug (boog'oo as in foot), Elbe (el'beh).

Smiles

"Does the foreman know the trench has fallen in?"
"Well, sir, we're diggin' him out to tell him."
—WALL STREET JOURNAL

Prof: "Smith, will you tell me why you look at your watch so often?"
Smith: "Yes, sir. I was afraid, sir, that you wouldn't have time to finish your interesting lecture, sir."
—MISSOURI SHOWME

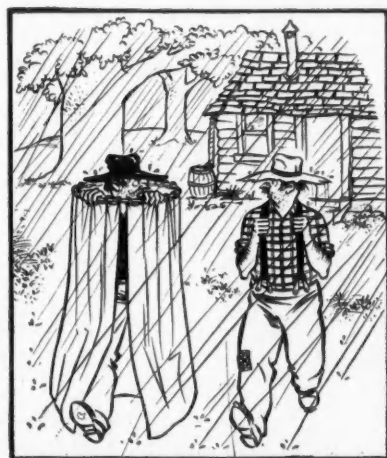
"You just can't trust anybody, nowadays. Why, my own grocer gave me a phony quarter in change this morning."
"Let me see it."
"Oh, I haven't got it any more. I gave it to the milkman."
—LABOR

She (dancing): "I simply adore that funny step of yours. Where did you pick it up?"
He: "Funny step, nothing, I'm losing my garter."
—WALL STREET JOURNAL

Customer: "I don't like the looks of that haddock."
Fish Dealer: "Lady, if it's looks you're after, why don't you buy a goldfish?"
—FROTH

Convict: "Be careful of these advertising slogans. I took the advice of one of them and got five years for doing so."
Friend: "Which one was that?"
Convict: "Make money at home."
—LABOR

Pop: "Well, I received a note from your teacher today."
Son: "Honest, Pop? Give me a quarter and I won't breathe a word about it."
—WALL STREET JOURNAL



"This here shower thing's a durn nuisance. Wisht I'd sent for a real raincoat."
JAMME IN COLLIER'S

Europe Becomes the Scene of War

